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SERIES IN ROMANIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE, NO. 2.

WAS FERNANDO DE HERRERA A GREEK SCHOLAR?

BY
R. M. BEACH.

A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE
FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
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WAS DE HERRERA A GREEK SCHOLAR?

Francisco de Rioja writes to the Count of Olivares thus: "De la lengua Griega dizen que tuvo mas que mediana noticia; i por lo menos los libros que dejò della (que ni fueron pocos ni ordinarios) se ven notados assi como los Latinos" (Preface to the Seville, 1619, edition of Herrera's poems).

Before entering upon this examination two facts should be noted which are well known to those who turn over the pages of old editions of the Greek and Latin classics, but which are not at all obvious to those who deal merely with our modern critical editions.

First: by the year 1580 (the date of Herrera's notes on Garcilasso) about everything written in Greek could be read in a Latin translation; second: that the notes of the commentators were filled with all kinds of rare and uncommon learning, often pedantic and dull, and more to show the learning of the commentator than to illustrate the author whom he professes to explain. Let anyone turn over the pages of Servius' Commentaries on Vergil, for example, and he will be astonished at the amount of recondite learning.

Now, as to the investigation itself. It is divided into four sections, as follows:

(1) Did Herrera read the Greek authors in Greek or in Latin translations?

(2) Plagiarisms and ostentatious show of learning by Herrera.

(3) Blunders in Greek quotations, words, and accents, committed by Herrera.

(4) General discussion of Herrera's knowledge of the Greek language and literature.

All references to Herrera's poetry, though I have had the edition of Seville, 1619, before me, are to the Rivadeneyra edition (vol. 32 of *Bibliot. de Autores Españoles* etc., Madrid): his notes on Garcilasso are cited from the edition of Seville, 1580.

This first section is composed of excerpts from Herrera's notes on Garcilasso; giving first his Spanish, then the Greek, then the Latin, and lastly a note of criticism.

I shall begin with Aelian, using the edition of Perizonius, (Leiden, 1701), who prints the Latin version of Justus Vultejus (A. D. 1548), '*ad Graecum contextum emendata*' by Perizonius.

Page 160. "Dize Eliano en el 2. de la varia istoria, que Gorgias Leontino, consumido ya de la vegez, i trabajado de la grande enfermedad, como se venciesse poco a poco del sueño, preguntandole un amigo suyo, que tal se hallava? respondio; ya el sueño comiença a entregarme a su ermano."

"Γοργίας ὁ Λεοντῖνος ἐπὶ τέρματι ὢν τοῦ βίου, καὶ γεγηρακὼς εὖ μάλα, ὑπό τινος ἀσθενείας καταληφθεὶς, κατ' ὀλίγον εἰς ὕπνον ὑπολισθαίνων ἔκειτο. Ἐπεὶ δέ τις αὐτὸν παρῆλθε τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐπισκοπούμενος, καὶ ἤρετο, τί πράττοι; ὁ Γοργίας ἔφη, Ἤδη με ὁ ὕπνος ἀρχεται παρακατατίθεσθαι τῷ ἀδελφῷ. *Var. Hist.* II. 35.

"Gorgias Leontinus in extremo vitae positus, et bene senio confectus, adversa valetudine correptus, paulatim in somnum prolabens jacebat. Quum vero quidam ex necessariis accederet ad eum invisendi causa, et. quomodo se haberet? quaereret. Jam, inquit, me somnus incipit suo fratri tradere."

Nota. 'Trabajado de la grande enfermedad' is more like 'adversa valetudine correptus' than '*ὑπό τινος ἀσθενείας*

καταληφθείς.' Senio confectus-consumido de la vegez. παρακατατίθεσθαι means to entrust (one's property) to the keeping of another.

Page 313. "Segun Eliano enel 2. de varia istoria los Atenienses onravan al rio Cefiso en figura de ombre con cuernos."

'Αθηναῖοι δὲ τὸν Κηφισσὸν ἀνδρα μὲν δεικνύουσιν ἐν τιμῇ, κέρατα δὲ ὑποφαίνοντα." *Var. Hist.* II. 33.

"Athenienses autem Cephissum virum quidem ostentant in sacris honoribus, sed cornua exserentem."

Nota. "Con cuernos" translates "cornua exserentum," but not κέρατα ὑποφαίνοντα. The ὑπό gives the idea of the tips of the horns just beginning to show.

Page 316. "Eliano trae enel 3. de la varia istoria, que los Satiros fueron compañeros de Baco, i que algunos los llaman Titiros, de los Teretismas, que son las dançcas i bailes lacivos i provocadores de la desonestidad, con que juegan los Satiros; i quiere que su nombre se deduzca de l'abertura de la boca, porque σήρειν sinifica abrir la boca."

"Οτι οἱ συγχορευταὶ Διονύσου Σάτυροι ἦσαν, οἱ ὑπ' ἐνίων Τίτυροι ὀνομαζόμενοι. Ἔσχον δὲ τὸ ὄνομα ἐκ τῶν τερετισμάτων, οἷς χαίρουσι Σάτυροι. Σάτυροι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ σεσηρέναι." *Var. Hist.* III. 40.

"Comites Bacchi fuerunt Satyri, quos nonnulli Tityros appellant. Hoc autem nomen habuerunt a lascivis et procacibus saltationibus, quibus gaudent Satyri. Satyri vero dicti sunt ab oris rictu."

Nota. Two things appear very clearly in this note; first, that Herrera translated directly from the Latin; second, that he had not even a schoolboy's knowledge of Greek. Τερετίσματα are pipings. They have no connection whatever with lascivious dances. Herrera did not know enough Greek to be able to tell what τερετίζω and τερέτισμα mean. He evidently could not deduce the present infinitive from σεσηρέναι, but puts σήρειν (an absurd blunder) for σαίρειν.

Page 407. " De aqui [i. e. from the blinding of Daphnis] tuvieron principio las canciones Bucolicas, a las cuales dio materia la infelicidad de los ojos de Dafnis. i el primero, que tratò este argumento (como dize Eliano) fue Estesicoro Imereo."

" Ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὰ βουκολικὰ μέλη πρῶτον ᾄσθη, καὶ εἶχεν ὑπόθεσιν τὸ πάθος, τὸ κατὰ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ. Καὶ Στησίχορόν γε τὸν Ἱμεραῖον τῆς τοιαύτης μελοποιίας ὑπάρξασθαι." *Var. Hist.*, X. 18.

" Ex eo Bucolica primum carmina cantata sunt, et hoc oculorum illius damnum materiam habuerunt. Et Stesichorus Himeraeus istam poesin coepisse traditur."

Nota. "Alas cuales dio materia la infelicidad de los ojos" follows the Latin construction closely, but not the Greek. Τὸ πάθος, τὸ κατὰ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς = the loss that he suffered in regard to his eyes. Also, in the last sentence, the Greek construction of accusative with infinitive, with which we have to understand φασίν, is different both from the Latin and the Spanish. Let us now turn to an extract from the *Historiae Mirabiles* of Antigonus of Carystus (published at Basel, 1568, Greek with Latin transl. of Xylander). I use Beckmann's edit., Leipzig, 1791, which gives Xylander's version.

Page 422. "Antigono, el que recogio las istorias admirables, trae que Ameleságoras Ateniense, escritor de la istoria Atica, afirma que no entran cornejas en l'alcaçar de Atenas, i que ninguno ái que pueda dezir que vio en ella alguna. la causa desto esplica fabulosamente. porque dize, que siendo dada Palas en matrimonio a Vulcano, i acostada con el en un mesmo lecho, subitamente desaparecio de la vista i presencia de Vulcano, i nunca mas la vieron con el; i cayendo Vulcano en la tierra, nacio Eritonio. al cual crio Minerva, i lo cerro en una cesta; dexando la en deposito a las hijas de Cécrope, Agraulo, Pandroso, i Erse, defendiendo les que no l'abriessen, hasta que ella diesse la buelta, i iendo

a Pelena ciudad de Acaya, arrancó un monte para fortificar la testera del castillo, en tanto abrieron Agraulo i Pandroso la cesta, i vieron dos dragones junto a Eritonio. i trayendo Minerva el monte, que oi se llama Licabéto, le salio Corona al camino, i le dixo, que ya estava Eritonio descubierto. ella, oyendo esto, arrojó el monte donde aora està; i dixo a Corona, que jamas le seria licito por el mal nuncio, entrar en su castillo, i luego Corona se deformó en corneja."

"Ἀμελησαγόρας δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, ὁ τὴν Ἀτθίδα συγγεγραφὼς, οὐ φησι κορώνην προσίπτασθαι πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, οὐδ' ἔχοι ἂν εἰπεῖν ἑωρακὼς οὐδείς. Ἀποδίδωσιν δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν μυθικῶς, φησὶν γὰρ Ἡφαίστῳ δοθείσης τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, συνκατακλιθεῖσαν αὐτὴν ἀφανισθῆναι. τὸν δὲ Ἥφαιστον, εἰς γῆν πεσόντα, προίεσθαι τὸ σπέρμα· τὴν δὲ γῆν ὕστερον αὐτῷ ἀναδοῦναι Ἐριχθόνιον· ὃν τρέφειν τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, καὶ εἰς κίστην καθείρξαι, καὶ παραθέσθαι ταῖς Κέκροπος παισὶν, Ἀγραύλῳ, καὶ Πανδρόσῳ, καὶ Ἕρσῃ, καὶ ἐπιτάξαι μὴ ἀνοίγειν τὴν κίστην, ἕως ἂν αὐτὴ ἔλθῃ. ἀφικομένην δὲ εἰς Πελλήνην, φέρειν ὄρος, ἵνα ἔρυμα πρὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ποιήσῃ· τὰς δὲ Κέκροπος θυγατέρας τὰς δύο, Ἄγραυλον καὶ Πάνδροσον, τὴν κίστην ἀνοίξαι, καὶ ἰδεῖν δράκοντας δύο περὶ τὸν Ἐριχθόνιον· τῇ δὲ Ἀθηνᾷ, φερούσῃ τὸ ὄρος ὃ νῦν καλεῖται Λυκαβηττὸς, κορώνην φησὶν ἀπαντῆσαι, καὶ εἰπεῖν, ὅτι Ἐριχθόνιος ἐν φανερῷ· τὴν δέ ἀκούσασαν, ῥίψαι τὸ ὄρος, ὅπου νῦν ἐστι· τῇ δὲ κορώνῃ, διὰ τὴν κακαγγελίαν, εἰπεῖν, ὡς εἰς ἀκρόπολιν οὐ θέμις αὐτῇ ἔσται ἀφικέσθαι." *Hist. Mirab.*, cap. 12.

"Amelesagoras Atheniensis, qui Atticae descriptionem condidit, negat ad arcem advolare cornicem; neque esse ait ullum, qui dicere possit, se id vidisse. Causam ipse fabulose refert. Minervam Vulcano in matrimonium traditam, cum eundem cum ipso intrasset lectum, evanuisse. Vulcanum in terram concidisse, ac semen profudisse. terram deinde Vulcano Erichthonium edidisse: huncque a Minerva enutritum, in cistam inclusum, traditumque Cecropis filiabus, Agraulo, Pandroso, et Ersae, ut asservarent; mandatumque, ne cistam ante suum adventum aperirent. ipsam ad Pellenem abiisse, montis apportandi caussa, quem propugnandi loci ante arcem collocaret. Interim Agraulum et Pandroson cistam aperuisse, et conspexisse circa Erichthonium duos serpentes. Minervae montem ferenti, cui nunc Lycabettus nomen, obviam factam cornicem, et renunciasse, detectum esse Erich-

thonium. Deam hoc audito, montem eo loci, ubi nunc est situs, abiecisse; cornici autem, ob malum nuncium, dixisse, nefas esse, eam in arcem intrare."

Nota. See how closely the Spanish follows the Latin. 'Con el en un mesmo lecho' = cum eundem cum ipso intrasset lectum. "Siendo dada Palas en matrimio a Vulcano" = Minervam Vulcano in matrimonio traditam. There is nothing about matrimony in the Greek. In the Greek Athena gives the chest to the children (παισίν) of Cecrops. The Spanish follows the Latin, hijas = filiabus. Later we have 'the *daughters* of Cecrops, two of them, Agraulos and Pandrosos' in the Greek, where the Latin and Spanish say merely, "Agraulos and Pandrosos."

Notice especially the real difference in meaning between the Greek, ἀφικομένην δὲ εἰς Πελλήνην, φέρειν ὄρος, and the Spanish, "iendo a Pelena, arrancó un monte." In the first the goddess, having made her journey to Pellene, is bringing the mountain back to Attica (the tearing-up of the mass is understood). In the second, the action is not so far advanced. 'Iendo' = abiisse, but not ἀφικομένην.

Let us consider some passages where Herrera draws from Pausanias, who was one of his favorite authors, if we may judge by the use he makes of him. Pausanias' *Descriptio Graeciae* was translated into Latin by Romolo Amaseo, and this version appeared without the Greek at Rome, 1547. I am sorry that I have not been able to find a copy of this edition. I have had to use Siebelis' edition (Leipzig, 1822) in which the Latin version of Amaseo has been corrected in many places. But even so, there are striking evidences that Herrera used this version, and not the Greek text.

Page 142. Herrera says that he will tell the story of Daphnis as Pausanias tells it in his 8th book, because it is new in Spain.

So he begins: "Ladon por la hermosura del' agua ecede a todos los rios de Grecia, i es mui celebre por causa de Dafne i lo que cantan della los poetas. Cuentan que Enomao rei de Pisa tuvo un hijo dicho Leucipo" etc.

"Ὁ δὲ Λάδων ποταμῶν τῶν ἐν Ἑλλάδι ὕδωρ παρέχεται κάλλιστον, ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἐς ἀνθρώπους φήμην, Δάφνης τε εἵνεκα καὶ διὰ τὰ ᾀδόμενα ἐς τὴν Δάφνην. . . . Οἰνομάῳ τῷ δυναστεύσαντι ἐν Πίσῃ Λεύκιππος ἦν υἱός." *Gr. D.* VIII. 20.

"Ladon quidem ipse aquae pulchritudine omnibus Graeciae fluminibus antecellit: celebratur vero maxime Daphnes causa, et ob ea quae de illa poetae decantarunt. . . Oenomao narrant Pisae regi filium fuisse Leucippum nomine."

A little further on we read how Leucippos, after having let his hair grow long, braided it, put on woman's attire, and then went, pretending to be a girl, and asked permission to hunt with Daphne. Herrera continues: "Como en el abito del cuerpo pareciesse donzella" etc., which is word for word the Latin "Quum itaque virgo esse *ex corporis habitu* facile crederetur." There is absolutely nothing in the Greek to represent "ex corporis habitu" and "en el abito del cuerpo." We have merely: ἅτε δὲ εἶναι παρθένος νομιζόμενος.

Page 359. "Dize Pausanias enel lib. 9., que por persuasion de Iuno osaron provocar las Sirenes a la contienda del canto a las Musas, i siendo vencidas, les arrancaron las Musas, las plumas de las alas, i se coronaron dellas."

"Τὰς γὰρ δὴ . . . ἀναπεισθείσας φασὶν ὑπὸ Ἥρας καταστῆναι πρὸς τὰς Μούσας ἐς ᾠδῆς ἔργον. αἱ δὲ, ὡς ἐνίκησαν, ἀποτίλασαι τῶν Σειρήνων τὰ πτερὰ, ποιήσασθαι στεφάνους ἀπ' αὐτῶν λέγονται." *Graec. Dis.* IX. 34.

"Acheloi enim filias narrant Junonis suasu in cantus certamen Musas provocare ausas: victis Musas pinnas ex alis convelisse, deque illis coronas sibi fecisse."

Nota. The whole turn of the Spanish is shaped according to the Latin. Notice the "osaron provocar . . . a la

contienda del canto = in cantus certamen . . . provocare ausas."

Page 220. Herrera gives an account of Anacreon:

" Fue el primero despues de Safo, que gastò gran parte de sus versos en declarar sus amores."

'Ανακρέων ὁ Τήϊος, πρῶτος μετὰ Σαπφὼ τὴν Λεσβίαν τὰ πολλὰ ὧν ἐγραψε ἐρωτικὰ ποιήσας." *Gr. Des.* I. 25.

"Anacreon Teius, qui primus post Lesbiam Sappho magnam carminum suorum partem in exprimendis amoribus consumsit."

Nota. " gastò gran parte de sus versos " = " magnam carminum suorum partem consumsit." " En declarar sus amores " = " in exprim. amor."

I think enough has been given to show that Herrera used the translation of Romolo Amaseo, and not the Greek.

The Bibliotheca of Apollodorus is very easy Greek, but even this Herrera read in Latin. On page 580 he writes: " Dizen que nacieron las Furias ex sanguinis guttis pudendorum Caeli in terram cadentibus."

"('Εκ δὲ τῶν σταλαγμῶν τοῦ ῥέοντος αἵματος 'Ερινύες ἐγένοντο, ***Apol. Bib.*** I. 1, 4).

We see here that Herrera has copied his Latin Apollodorus right into his Spanish *pudoris causa.* His use of the Latin shows also in the corrupt forms of his proper names. For instance he tells us (p. 670) that Panyasis makes Adonis the son of Thoas (Toante). This is from Apollod. III. 14, 3, where the name is Θείας. No one translating from the Greek would put down Thoas. But the Latin form Theas might easily be corrupted into Thoas by one who was not familiar with the widely different Greek form. Herrera gives us a similar clue to the fact that he has Latin before him, not Greek, in his account of the Sicilian shepherd Daphnis (p. 406), which he takes from Diodorus of Sicily iv. 84. He begins, "Ai en Sicilia unos montes

llamados Aerios." It would be difficult to recognize in this name Diodorus' τὸ Ἠραῖον ὄρος, but the Latin form, printed in the old-fashioned way, 'Eraei montes' might easily by metathesis become 'Aerios.'

SEC. II. PLAGIARISMS AND OSTENTATIOUS SHOW OF LEARNING.

In this section it is proposed to deal first with the matter of plagiarism and then with a few of the cases where Herrera seems to have gone out of his way a little more than usual in order to impress his readers. I shall quote the Spanish passage first, and then subjoin the author or authors from whom Herrera draws without acknowledgment.

Page 87. "Los Griegos llaman μάρμαρον al mar, por el resplandor i color de l'agua comovida. i es el mar antigua voz Siriaca ***marath*** que sinifica lo margo."

"Graecum est μάρμαρον a nitore aquae commotae. . . . Mare autem vetus vox Syra, MARATH." Scaliger, *Poetice*, iv. 16.

Nota. Herrera was a careful reader of the great Scaliger, and he pays him the distinguished compliment in more than one place of using his writings without a hint as to the source. What makes the matter the more significant is that Scaliger happened to be wrong in both of his statements. I am able to state on the authority of Dr. Richard Gottheil, of Columbia University, that there is no word at all like ***marath*** meaning ocean in Syriac. I can only surmise that Scaliger, who knew some Hebrew, took the word ***marah***, meaning ***bitter*** in that language, and boldly made his statement. As regards the Greek word, probably Scaliger confused μάρμαρος and μαρμάρεος.

Page 155. "Omero dize, que Vulcano decendio cayendo

del aire, i que es coxo, porque el fuego de su naturaleza nunca es derecho. . . . Fornuto entiende por Iupiter el aire, de quien se engendran los rayos, i por esso dizen que Vulcano nacio del muslo de Iuno, porque los rayos nacen de la infima region del aire a lo cual se allega Lucano escriviendo assi en el lib." I. Fulminibus terrae proprior succenditur aer, pacem summa tenent.

"Homerus dicit eum [i. e. Vulcanum] de aere precipitatum in terras, quod omne fulmen de aere cadit" etc. "Claudus autem dicitur quod per naturam nunquam rectus est ignis." Servius in *Vergil. Aeneid.* 8, 414.

"Ideo autem Vulcanus de femore Iunonis fingitur natus, quod fulmina de imo aere nascuntur: quod etiam Lucanus dicit: Fulminibus terrae proprior succenditur aer, pacem summa tenent." Servius in *Aen.* 8, 454.

Nota. We see here that Herrera has pillaged from two passages, running them together in his translation. Even the two lines from Lucan, *Pharsal.* II. 269, 273, which Servius has put together from two passages with good literary taste, are quoted by Herrera in just the same way. In a word, the only part which Herrera can claim as original is in the two mistakes, i. e. quoting the lines as from book 1, and writing, or leaving uncorrected, *proprior.*

Page 220. "Assi como la poesia eroica tomò nombre del canto, llamandose ῥαψωδία i ἔπος; assi la Lirica se apellidò ᾠδή i μέλος i μολπή, porque no se pronunciavan sin el canto i la lira; i Oracio puso titulo de Odas a sus libros, porque se cantavan."

"Proxima Heroicae maiestati Lyrica nobilitas, ut illa a cantu Rapsodia et Epos; ita haec Ode, et μέλος, et μολπή. Neque enim ea sine cantu atque Lyra pronuntiabant, unde et Lyricorum appellatio. Odas quoque a canendo titulum suorum librorum fecit Horatius." Scaliger, *Poet.* I. 44.

Nota. The real interest in these passages is that they show either that Herrera translated directly from the originals, or that he kept a commonplace-book from which he took the matter, but did not indicate that it was borrowed. Scholars nowadays, I believe, tell us that Horace did not call his four books *Odae* but *Carmina.*

Page 251. " Platon hizo 3. partes del animo; razon, ira, i codicia o concupicencia, si esto declara lo que es *cupiditas.* pero Aristoteles i otros, imitando a Pitagoras, dividen el animo en dos; participe de razon o racional en quien ponen la tranquilidad, que es una constancia agradable i quieta; i esta parte con la qual juzgamos i contemplamos, enseña i muestra lo que se deve hazer i huir. La otra, ques la irracional, està puesta enel apetito, la cual se llama ὁρμὴ en sermon Griego, i enella pusieron unos movimientos turbios de ira i codicia, contrarios i enemigos a la razon."

" In his explicandis veterem illam equidem Pythagorae primum, dein Platonis descriptionem sequar, qui animum in duas partes dividunt, alteram rationis participem faciunt, alteram expertem; in participe rationis ponunt tranquillitatem, id est placidam quietamque constantiam, in illa altera motus turbidos cum irae, tum cupiditatis, contrarios inimicosque rationi." *Cicer. Tusc. Disp.* IV. 5, 10-11.

" Etenim virtus omnis tribus in rebus fere vertitur, quarum una etc. . . . alterum cohibere motus animi turbatos, quos Graeci πάθη nominant, appetitionesque, quas illi ὁρμάς, oboedientes efficere rationi." Cic. *De Off.* II. 5, 18.

Nota. Truly, 'the voice is Cicero's voice, but the hands are the hands of Aristotle!' " Supo Fernando de Herrera la Filosofia mui bien," says Francisco de Rioja (Preface to Herrera's poems. Seville, 1619). It would be interesting if Rioja could tell us fully on what he based his

judgment. In Herrera's notes on Garcilasso I have found nothing but the ostentatious display which is shown in this extract. No wonder that Herrera calls Cicero "el principe dela eloquencia i filosofia Romana" (p. 651).

Page 258. "Aquel dicho de Neocles filosofo Ateniense, ermano de Epicuro, que dixo, vive de tal suerte, que ninguno sepa que as vivido."

"Neocles Atheniensis, philosophus, frater Epicuri. . . . Et Neoclis est dictum illud, Late vivens." Suidas, *Lexicon* sub. v. *Neocles.*

Nota. I quote from Suidas in the Latin translation, because I feel certain that this is what Herrera used.

Page 290. "Ἐλεὸς es ave noturna en Aristoteles lib. 8. cap. 3. dela istoria, que la dizen *ulula* los Latinos."

"Ἐλεὸς quoque ea est nocturna avis apud Aristotelem, quam nos ululam dicimus." Scaliger, *Poet.* I. 50.

Nota. Herrera adduces this, just as Scaliger does, in discussing the etymology of *elegy.*

Page 316. "Los 3 cabos de Sicilia. Paquino que mira a la Morea, dicho assi del gruesso aire, que ái enel, i por la espessura de las nieblas, que se engendran sobre el, porque παχὺς sinifica en Griego lo que en Latin crasso o gruesso."

"Pachynum est promontorium Siciliae austrum spectans. Unde et Pachynum dictum, ab aeris crassitudine. Nam παχὺς est crassus, pinguis." Serv. in *Aen.* III. 699.

Page 356. "Llamose Trápana antiguamente Drépano, por la postura del sitio, que alli haze la ribera torcida i encorvada. o segun otros, por el nombre de la hoz, que se llama drépano en Griego, la cual arrojò Saturno en aquel lugar."

"Drepanum civitas est . . . dicta vel propter curvaturam litoris, in quo sita est, vel quod Saturnus post ampu-

tata virilia Coelo patri illuc falcem proiecit." Serv. in *Aen.* III. 707.

Page 366. "Omero el primero llamò Thyche a la fortuna."

"Ac Fortunae quidem (cui Thyches apud Graecos nomen) poetarum primus, quod sciam, mentionem fecit Homerus hymno in Cererem." Pausan. *Grae. Desc.* IV. 30, 3.

Nota. The words in parentheses are of course not found in the Greek. Romolo Amaseo puts them in as explanatory. The Hymn to Demeter was lost early, and was known to the scholars of the Renaissance only by references like this one in Pausanias. Of course it is not by Homer, for the word τύχη is not found at all in the Iliad or the Odyssey, much less a personification. If Herrera was really well acquainted with Macrobius, it is very strange that this passage from the *Saturnalia* (V. 16, 8 ed. Iani) did not occur to him: "Fortunam Homerus nescire maluit, et soli decreto, quam μοῖραν vocat, omnia regenda committit, adeo ut hoc vocabulum τύχη in nulla parte Homerici voluminis nominetur." Xylander made the same remark on the very passage (Paus. iv. 30) from which Herrera has borrowed. Moreover, as Pausanias mentions *in loco,* the Tyche of the Hymn to Demeter is, like the other sea-nymphs, a daughter of Oceanos. Now, if Herrera knew Pindar at all, as he professes, he must have been aware that the royal Tyche who sways and changes the affairs of all this world, was the daughter of Zeus (Pind. *Olymp.* XII. 1: παῖ Ζηνός . . . Σώτειρα Τύχα). It seems difficult to escape the conclusion that Herrera made a statement about a matter of which he knew nothing.

Page 367. "Omero en el 5. dela Iliada llama a Marte βροτολοιγὸς, μιηφόνος [sic] τειχεσιπλήτης, que sinifica pestilencia de ombres, ensangrentado en muertes, destruidor de muros."

"Mars, Mars, hominum pestis, sanguinarie, moeniorum eversor." Clement of Alex. *Cohort.*, p. 24 ed. Potter.

Nota. The works of Clement of Alexandria were published in the Latin translation of Gentianus Hervetus (with scholia) by Froben at Basel in 1556; and at Paris, 1566 and 1572. Now we know that Herrera had read the *Cohortatio ad Gentes*, for on pag. 331, note on *Oëta*, he says: "refiere su muerte [i. e. Hercules'] Clemente Alexandrino en la oracion esortatoria a las gentes." This citation is from a passage only a page further on than the one to which I refer. What proves that Herrera took this from Clement (I mean Hervetus' translation) is the "destruidor de muros" which is exactly "moeniorum eversor," whereas the Greek τειχεσιπλήτης is stormer of walls (literally, approacher of walls).

Page 433. "Fue Pierio, aquien Caras escritor de la istoria Griega, haze hijo de Lino, antiquissimo, pero no umilde, ni oscuro poeta."

Nota. This is a mere show of learning, all taken from Suidas' article Ὅμηρος. Herrera seems to have had but a shadowy idea of who or what Charax was. Suidas begins his article: "The order of descent according to the historian Charax is as follows." Then he gives the mythological generations from Aethusa to Homer. But Herrera has not put down the name correctly. It should be Pierus, not Pierius.

Page 436. "Los Griegos llaman χάριτα a la venustidad, que es perfecion de hermosura, i esta atribuye Tulio a las mugeres."

"Est enim Venustas, quam Graeci χάριτα vocant, pulchritudinis perfectio, quare Venustatem mulieribus attribuit Cicero." Scaliger, *Poet.* IV. 1.

Nota. Scaliger's reference is to Cicero, *De Offic.* I. 36 init.

Page 442. The story of Endymion. "Escrive Esiodo que fue llevado por Iupiter al cielo, i encendido en amor de Iuno; fue engañado con un idolo hecho de una nuve, i arrojado del cielo, cayò en la region inferior. Epimenides tiene, que habitando entre los dioses, se enamorò perdidamente de Iuno, i enojandose Iupiter dello; le pidio, que le concediesse sueño perpetuo. Ibico trae que fue señor de Elis."

"Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Μεγάλαις Ἠοίαις λέγεται τὸν Ἐνδυμίωνα ἀνενεχθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς εἰς οὐρανόν· ἐρασθέντα δὲ Ἥρας εἰδώλῳ παραλογισθῆναι [τὸν ἔρωτα] νεφέλης καὶ ἐκβληθέντα κατελθεῖν εἰς Ἅιδου. . . . . Ἐπιμενίδης δὲ αὐτὸν παρὰ θεοῖς διατρίβοντα ἐρασθῆναί φησι τῆς Ἥρας, διόπερ Διὸς χαλεπήσαντος αἰτήσασθαι διαπαντὸς καθεύδειν. Ἴβυκος δὲ ἐν πρώτῳ Ἠλιδος αὐτὸν βασιλεῦσαί φησι." Schol. on Apol. Rhod. iv. 57.

Nota. I have set down the parts of the scholium which are reproduced in Herrera's note. He does not know the scholia on Apollonius of Rhodes at first hand, for I believe they had not been translated into Latin. Herrera draws from somebody's Latin note. This is very evident from the way in which he says that 'Hesiod writes.' If he had been copying directly from the scholium we may be sure that he would have said, 'Hesiod writes in the Great Eoiae.' At the end we should have had 'Ibico trae enel 1.' Herrera gives almost invariably the name of the book and the place referred to, when he can. Of course I do not mean to say that the references are like an accurate modern citation. But it is something like 'Virgilio enel 2.' or 'Estasino en las cosas de Cipre,' almost always. Also it is not Herrera's manner to omit two or three good classical names when they are before him. Now, in this scholium I have indicated by dashes a passage in which the scholiast says that "Sappho and Nicander, in the 2nd book of his Europa, relate the story of Luna's (Selene's) love," etc. I can think of no case where Herrera cuts out. His tendency always is to bring in even irrelevant matter, so long as it gives a learned look to his note.

Finally, he says that " Ibycus relates that Endymion was lord of Elis. The Greek '*βασιλεῦσαι* 'Ηλίδος' with the Spanish ' fue senor de Elis ' rather implies that the Greek has gone through a translation which changed Endymion from ' King of Elis ' into ' lord of Elis ' (dominare, or something similar).

Page 549. Herrera explains Vergil's " Geminae Somni portae " as follows: " La una destas es de cuerno, i denota los ojos, que son de aquel color i mas duros que los de mas miembros, como los que no sienten frio, segun dize Tulio enel 2. de la naturaleza de los dioses. por esta puerta sale la verdad, que es por la vista; porque lo que vêmos sin duda es verdad. i assi se le atribuyen los sueños verdaderos, que dizen los poetas; porque el cuerno adelgazado se haze perspicuo i trasparente. la otra *eburnea,* que es de marfil denso i fragil, i se da alos sueños vanos, para que entendamos conforme ala opinion antigua algunas vezes las visiones noturnas ser engañosas i otras verdaderas; sinifica la boca, porque los dientes son de aquel color, i sabemos que lo que se habla puede ser falso."

" Est autem in hoc loco Homerum secutus [i. e. Vergilius]. . . . Physiologia vero hoc habet: Per portam corneam oculi significantur, qui et cornei sunt coloris, et duriores ceteris membris. Nam frigus non sentiunt: sicut etiam Cicero dicit in libris de Deorum Natura [2,57]. Per eburneam vero portam os significatur a dentibus. Et scimus quia, quae loquimur falso esse possunt: ea vero quae videmus, sine dubio vera sunt." Servius in *Aen.* VI. 894.

Nota. Nowadays we should call this wholesale taking without any acknowledgment, rank plagiarism. The references to Homer and Cicero; the entire explanation, — Herrera has taken it all, and repeated it, as though it were original.

Pages 597-8. " Son las Gracias criadas de Venus, i siguen su compañia. sinifican verdura, alegria, resplandor, que son tres propriedades, que consiguen la belleza Ideal. a estas llaman Chárites los Griegos porque χαρὰ es alegria i gozo. unos las hazen hijas de Iupiter i Eurinome hija de Oceano; i assi lo dize Apolodoro en el primero, otros de Eurimedúsa, o Euridomene, i algunos de Iuno, otros de Libero padre i Venus. Orfeo en el ino, que canta a las Gracias, las llama hijas de Iupiter i Eunomia, i a esta nombra Esíodo Eurinómene, por l'ampla distribucion de las cosas. Antímaco quiere, que sean hijas de Egle i del Sol. Eurinome sinifica estendida i abundosa distribucion; porque εὐρὺ es ancho i estendido, i νέμω lo mesmo que distribúyo. Eurimedúsa se trae de μέδω, que es reino o impéro. Euridomene, de δομέω, que es edifico, compongo i ordéno. los nombres de las Gracias, que les dio Esíodo en la Teogonia, si es suya, porque Pausanias lo pone en duda, son estos; Aglaya, Eufrosíne, Talía; i esta se llama de otra manera Egíale. Omero haze una dellas a Pasitéa, que algunos piensan, que es Eufrosíne. Suidas trae estas, Pitò, Aglaya, Eufrosíne; i Ermesianas poeta élego fue el primero, que llamò Pitò a una dellas. Aglaya se interpreta luz i esplendor, ἀγλαὸς es lo mesmo que resplandeciente i ilustre. a esta podemos llamar magestad o venustidad. Eufrosíne se deduze de εὐφρένω que es lo mesmo que alégro, quiere dezir alegre i bien acondicionada. podemos atribuille el plazer i jocundidad i alegria del'anima; porque el dar quiere gracia i alegria. Talía denota siempre verde i florida i llena de frescura. toca a esta la festividad, donaire, concinidad i apostura i adereço. dixeron los antiguos, que eran dos; porque se à de dar i bolver el beneficio. otros tres, porque el bien recebido à de bolver con logro; i por esso fingen a la que recibe el beneficio buelto el rostro; porque no se espére remuneracion del bien, que se haze. las que lo buelven, i

recompensan, son dos, que se miran de rostro; porque la remuneracion à de ser diligente i cuidadosa i doblada. pintavan las moças de poca edad, porque no se à de envegecer la memoria del beneficio; virgenes, porque an de ser los beneficios sinceros i inviolables; desnudas, porque como dize Servio, las Gracias an de ser sin afeite i sin compostura, o, como siente Suidas, se à de hazer bien premio i sin interes. Eteócles Orcomenio fue el primero, que sacrificò a las Gracias, como escrive Pausanias en el libro nono de la Grecia ilustrada, i dize, que no sabe quien fue el primero, que pintò, o escrivio desnudas a las Gracias; porque los poetas i pintores antiguos las descrivieron vestidas."

Nota. I have set down this long, confused note entire. Everything in it comes from Pausanias IX. 35 and Servius in *Aen.* I. 720. Pausanias in fact furnishes everything that has any interest or value. Servius supplies merely the foolish symbolical explanations. Herrera furnishes nothing except the confused narration and the wearisome verbosity.

Page 670. Herrera in telling the story of Adonis says: "Esiodo lo haze hijo de Fenis i Alfesibea; Paníasis, de Toante rei de Assiria i de su hija Mirra."

"Ησίοδος δὲ αὐτὸν Φοίνικος καὶ Ἀλφεσιβοίας λέγει. Πανύασις δέ φησι Θείαντος βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων, ὃς ἔσχε θυγατέρα Σμύρναν." Apollodorus, *Bibl.* III. 14, 3.

Nota. As has been shown in the 1st section, Herrera without doubt used the Latin translation of Apollodorus. The purpose here is merely to show the wholesale appropriation.

Page 683. "Ni se deve condenar Pindaro en la oda 3. de los Olimpios, ni Calimaco en el ino a Diana, ni Euripides en la Ifigenia, por aver dado cuernos a la cierva."

Nota. This is an interesting passage, because it shows that Herrera did not know the play of Iphigenia at Aulis.

He made his statement on the authority of Aelian, *Hist. Animal.* VII. 39, who quotes a different ending from the one which the play now has. The Pindar also is from Aelian.

Page 689. Herrera, after telling the myth of Hercules and the poplar leaves blackened by the smoke of Hades, continues: "Otra declaracion ài desta fabula en los escritores Griegos, que Ercules trasfirio a Grecia el povo dela region de Tesprotis cerca del rio Aqueronte, que riega aquella region, i por esso se dixo que traxo el Povo delos infiernos, porque es rio dellos, i aludiendo Omero a esto llamò Acheroida al Povo."

"Eam [i. e. the poplar] Hercules e Thesprotide primus in Graeciam attulit. . . . Eam vero arborem Hercules in Thesprotide propter amnem Acherontem reperit. Et huc respexisse Homerum putant quum Acheroidem populum appellavit." Pausan. *Gr. Des.* V. 14, 3.

Nota. Observe how Herrera begins with a vague reference to 'the Greek writers.' It has a learned sound, and is much more imposing than a simple reference to Pausanias.

Pausanias refers to Homer's simile (*Il.* 13, 389):

Ἤριπε δ' ὡς ὅτε τις δρῦς ἠριπεν, ἢ ἀχερωΐς.

A couple of examples of Herrera's ostentatious ignorance now follow:

Page 168. "Se engañaron los que traxaron de Pausanias que Marca es cavallo en la lengua Galica; porque se devia leer en Pausanias, en la descricion de Focis, Mar, que denota cavallo a los Galos i Cimbros, i no Marc. i no aciertan todos los que deste lugar creen que Marca es cavallo." What a pity that Jacob Grimm did not know this!

On page 269 Herrera writes what seems to me one of the most absurd notes in the book. Garcilasso in his 5th cancion has the following lines:

" Porti el mayor amigo
l'es importuno, grave i enojoso;
yo puedo ser testigo;
que ya del peligroso
naufragio fui su puerto i su reposo."

The lines seem to me to be a graceful variation of the themes of Horaces' eighth Ode and of the end of the fifth, in Bk. I. But Herrera picks out the word 'puerto' for the following comment: " El puerto en que las naves propriamente estan guardadas i seguras, es (como escrive Ulpiano) lugar cerrado, donde aportan i se traen las mercaderias, i iviernan las naves. Por traslacion, como en este lugar, se usurparà por seguro estado de cosas, o por otro cualquiera, do no se tema algun peligro." Imagine Matthew Arnold quoting Grotius or Puffendorf or Vattel to explain high-seas and by 'traslacion' Hamlet's 'sea of troubles!'

In truth, the criticism of the writer of the article *Herrera* in *La Grande Encyclopédie Nouvelle*, seems just to the point: " Herrera écrivait un commentaire sur les oeuvres de Garcilasso . . . travail lourd, dans lequel les remarques multipliées étouffent les vers du plus harmonieux des poètes espagnols."

III.

Let us now turn to the third part of the inquiry, and consider some of the mistakes made by Herrera.

Page 87. "Los Griegos llaman μάρμαρον al mar, por el resplandor i color del' agua comovida."

Nota. It has been pointed out in part 2. of this paper, that Herrera merely takes this in a wholesale borrowing from Scaliger (*Poet.* IV. 16); still, if Herrera were really acquainted at all well with the Iliad and the famous passage in Odyssey IX. 494-9, he would know that "ὀκριόεις μάρμαρος" is a Homeric formula, like "βοὴν ἀγαθός" or "λευκώλενος Ἥρη."

Μαρμάρεος, the adjective, is the word which is used to express the shimmer of the sea. Hypnos in Iliad XIV. 273, tells Hera to swear, touching the ἅλα μαρμαρέην (as a witness).

Page 88. "Dize Estrabon enel lib. 1. que los poetas mostravan que los Eróes eran singularmente sabios, porque peregrinavan por muchos lugares, atravessando largos caminos."

Strabo (I. p. 8) does not say this, His words are: "οἱ γοῦν ποιηταὶ φρονιμωτάτους τῶν ἡρώων ἀποφαίνουσι τοὺς ἀποδημήσαντας πολλαχοῦ καὶ πλανηθέντας." There is a very important difference between saying that "the heroes were very wise because they wandered about in many places" and "those of the heroes who wandered about in many places away from home, were the wisest."

Herrera makes Strabo say what is not true.

Some of the heroes did not wander about in many places. Strabo's allusion is very evidently to Odysseus and to the opening lines of the Odyssey. Herrera takes all the point away.

Page 102. "Platon i Fornuto dizen que se apellida ἔρως de la inquisicion i busca que se haze de lo que se ama; porque ἐρεῖν vale por ζητεῖν que es inquirer."

Nota. In the *Cratylus*, p. 398 D, Socrates gives his jesting etymology of ἔρως: "ἤρως : ἐρωτᾶν, and adds, τὸ γὰρ ἰρεειν λέγειν ἐστίν. There is no such verb as ἐρεῖν, so far as I know. The whole passage seems to show that Herrera was equally ignorant of Plato and of Greek. It looks at though Herrera trusted to Antonio Minturno rather than to Plato for this remarkable word ἐρεῖν, for on page 103 he writes: "pero Antonio Minturno enel panegírico lo [i. e. Eros] llama assi, porque aprieta i liga juntamente i confuerça los coraçones nobles i gentiles de suerte que de dos se haze

uno. i no consiente que por otra causa le digan los Griegos ἔρως; si no porque liga i ata con estrechissimos nudos las animas apartadas. porque ἐρεῖν pronunciado con espiritu denso sinifica ligar o atar." Such are the waters in which Herrera fishes for Greek!

Page 154. "Orfeo i Pindaro en los Olimpicos lo [i. e. Jupiter] llaman ἀργυκεράννος [sic] . . . i en otra parte se dize ἀρχικερανος [sic].

Nota. I give this as a sample of slipshod printing (though the 1580 edit. is revised [?] and has a long list of *Errata*) and of slipshod reference. To what does "en otra parte" refer, to Pindar, to Orpheus, or to both?

As a matter of fact, Pindar calls Zeus ἀργικέραννος (Olymp. VIII. 4), but not ἀρχικέραννος: Both forms appear in the quotation by different ancient writers of the famous Orphic verse, Ζεὺς πρῶτος γένετο, Ζεὺς ὕστατος ἀρχικέραννος. But who would ever know this from the way in which Herrera puts it? Probably, however, he did not know, but merely borrowed somebody's dictum.

Page 157. Herrera gives us the Spanish translation of an epitaph ascribed to Plato:

> "D'Eubea fuimos, de linage Eretrios,
> mas yazemos en Susa sepultados;
> ai, o tan lexos dela patria nuestra."

Nota. The original is in the Greek Anthology, (lib. vii, n. 259) and runs as follows:

Εὐβοίης γένος ἐσμὲν Ἐρετρικὸν, ἀγχι δὲ Σούσων κείμεθα· φεῦ, γαίης ὅσσον ἀφ' ἡμετέρης.

"En Susa" certainly does not render "ἀγχι δὲ Σούσων.' However, I see no reason to doubt that Herrera had only a Latin translation before him.

Page 188. "Fue ilustre este monte con dos cumbres, i assi lo llamò δικόρυφον Euripides.

Nota. Euripides didn't call Parnassus δικόρυφον. In the *Phoenissae* 227, he speaks of the δικόρυφον σέλας, the gleam of fire from the twin crags above the temple; and in the *Bacchae* he speaks of the δικόρυφος πλάξ, the great stretch of uplands which slope from the twin crags up to the real peak of Parnassos. Herrera shared in the common opinion of his time about Parnassos, an opinion derived from the Roman poets.

Page 190. "Los Griegos lo [i. e. Destiny] llaman πεπρωμένη, o εἱμαρμένη, i piensa Aristoteles que se dixo assi porque se acaban por el todas las cosas, i son estatuidas por una cierta lei, i traidas casi a su fin; porque περατόω sinifica termíno; ἐρύω, trayo."

Nota. Aristotle (*De Mund.* cap. 7) derives εἱμαρμένη from εἴρειν; πεπρωμένη from περατόω. There is nothing about ἐρύω. Still, in a case just like this, it is only fair to suspend judgment until we are sure that no text of Aristotle gave ἐρύω in Herrera's time.

Page 240. Herrera discusses the words ἱερός and *sacer*, and closes his note by saying: "porque ἱερὸν, que como trae Plutarco enel libro dela prudencia delos brutos terrestres i aquátiles, despues sinificò sacro alos Griegos; sinificava grande alos mas antiguos.

Nota. Plutarch does not say this: all that he does say is that "some think *sacred* means great" (μέγαν τινὲς οἴονται τὸν ἱερόν. *De Solertia Anim.* cap. 32).

Page 253. "A este encendido temor de la desonra llama Platon verguença divina." Then Herrera quotes Aristotle, in his Ethics, as not counting *shame* among the virtues, and establishes a contrast between the views of the two great philosophers concerning shame (αἰδῶς).

Now this contrast is all based on a mistake of Herrera's

as to what Plato really did say. The passage is in The Laws (p. 671 D.) where the Athenian speaks of laws which shall be able to inculcate fear in the mind of the unseemly man δν αἰδῶ τε καὶ αἰσχύνην θεῖον φόβον ὠνομάκαμεν, which fear (composed of) reverence and shame we have called a divine fear (Jowett: "being that divine fear which we have called reverence and shame").

From the whole tone of Herrera's note compared with the passage in Plato, I am of the opinion that he does not quote from the Laws, but from somebody's quotation of the sentence. In a word, Plato's conception is Hellenic: Herrera's is chivalrous, full of the pundonor.

Page 273. "Tarasino o Estasino escritor de las cosas de Cipre en verso eróico, haze a Némesis madre de Elena."

Nota. Whence Herrera derived the strange name Tarasino, I am unable to discover. The verses of Stasinus which give us the information in question have been preserved by Athenaeus, *Deipnos.* viii. 10, p. 334. Athenaeus speaks of ὁ τὰ Κύπρια ποιήσας ἔπη, εἴτε Κύπριός τις ἐστὶν, ἢ Στασῖνος, κ.τ.λ. There is nothing resembling the form Tarasino. Further, we see in how ignorant a fashion Herrera uses these bits of information which he gathers and displays so freely. He speaks of the poem of Stasinus as "las cosas de Cipre," whereas it has absolutely nothing to do with Cyprus in the way of treating of its affairs. It narrates the causes which led up to the Trojan war, and is called "the Cyprian verses" either because in it is set forth the might of Aphrodite, the Cyprian goddess, or because it was thought by some that Hegesias of Cyprus wrote it. The poem was lost, like the other poems of the Epic Cycle, and we have only a few fragments, and an abstract of the contents made by a grammarian, Proclus, who is supposed to have lived in the time of the emperor Marcus Aurelius. See Munro's Appendix to the *Odys.* xiii-xxiv. pag. 341 *seq.*

Page 290. "Es comun opinion delos Griegos, que esta poesia Melica se llama elegedia, porque, como escrive Misimblo, se juntavan en Lesbos las musas a las celebraciones funerales, i alli solian lamentar."

Nota. I cannot find the source of this remarkable statement. No name is known to me among the Greek writers that could well be twisted into Misimblo. Finally, there is no such word in the Greek language, I believe, as *elegedia.*

Page 316. "Los Teretismas que son las danças i bailes lacivos i provocadores de la desonestidad."

Nota. This very absurd statement has been criticized in the 1st section. Τερέτισμα is not an uncommon word in Greek. Aristotle uses it several times, and if Herrera had read him in Greek, this mistake would not have been made.

Page 332. "Alcides, dicho assi del nombre de su abuelo Alceo, hijo de Perseo i Andromeda, como siente Eródoto."

Nota. On the contrary, Herodotus (I. 7.) calls Alcaeus the son of Heracles.

Page 359. "Licofron las [i. e. the Sirens] llama linage de Harpias, lo cual dio ocasion a los interpretes, para dezir unos que eran sus hijas, otros, que tenian alas."

Nota. This passage is the best proof in the world that Herrera knew no Greek worth mentioning. In Lycophron's ***Cassandra***, ver. 653, we read: Ἁρπυιογούνων κλώμακάς τ' ἀηδόνων, literally: "the stone-heap of the harpy-legged nightingales." Herrera, or the one from whom he copied, made the absurd mistake of supposing that ἁρπυιογούνων meant of harpy-lineage, or harpy-born.

If Herrera really had read the scholia, as he seems to imply (see note on p. 273 of Garcilasso, where Herrera cites *Isacio*, i. e. Isaac Tzetzes), he would have avoided this foolish mistake, for Tzetzes explains it clearly (τὰ κάτω μέρη ὀρνίθων

ἔχουσαι). Herrera continues as follows: "Omero pone dos Sirenas segun Eustacio i sin nombre [i. e. Σειρήνοιιν, Odys. XII. 167]. Esiodo tres, si es suya la Teogonia, que son Telxiope, o conforme a otros codices Telxinone, Molpe, Aglaofóna."

Nota. This strange statement about Hesiod would seem to show clearly that Herrera had not read the Theogony, or else that he was confusing Hesiod with some other writer. The Sirens are not mentioned at all in the Theogony. They are mentioned only in fragments 136, 137 (Didot edit.) and even there neither names nor number are given.

"Desde el pecho arriba tenian [i. e. the Sirens] forma de mugeres, i de alli abaxo de gallinas, i no de paxaros como pensaron algunos: porque στρουθὸν llamavan los antiguos a la gallina, i no [al] paxaro, segun se ve en Nicandro afetador del uso de las vozes olvidadas."

Nota. In the *Alexipharmaca* 535, Nicander gives, among other valuable recipes to be taken inwardly, πάτον στρουθοῖο κατοικάδος, hens' dung. Of course it is the addition of the κατοικάς (domestic) that makes στρουθός mean hen. Any schoolboy could tell Herrera that the Greeks in the *Anabasis* didn't chase hens in the Syrian desert, as they marched down the Euphrates.

At the bottom of page 359 Herrera writes: "Si creemos a Paléfato estas [i. e. the Sirens] eran mugeres de vida libre i desonesta."

Nota. Palaephatus, in the *Incredibilia*, has nothing to this effect, I believe. Servius says so in his Comment. on *Aeneid* V. 864.

Page 366. "Omero el primero llamò Thyche a la fortuna. del verbo τύχω que sinifica hazer."

Nota. There is no verb τύχω: it should be τεύχω. Of course this etymology is incorrect. See note on this passage in Section II. for a discussion of the statement as to Tyche.

Page 367. The Homeric word μιαιφόνος is put down as μιηφόνος.

Page 405. "Las Eglogas, llamadas propriamente Eglogas [Eclogas?] de ἐκλογίξω [sic] verbo Griego, que enel lenguage Romano sinifica seligo."

Nota. There is no form ἐκλογίζω. The verb is a deponent, ἐκλογίζομαι. Of course, ἐκλογή comes from ἐκλέγω, not from ἐκλογίζομαι.

Page 421. "Coronis que quiere dezir corneja."

Nota. The Greek word for crow is κορώνη, not κορωνίς. Herrera has repeated this blunder on page 431, by citing the adage as 'Daulia coronis.'

Page 425. On the meaning of the word Tityrus Herrera writes: "el espositor de Teocrito lo declara lento, ocioso; de donde aludio Virgilio a la etimologia en la egloga—tu, Tityre, lentus in umbra."

Nota. This strange and absurd statement came from a corrupt form in the scholion on Theocritus Idyl. 3, 2: τοὺς ἀργοὺς τιτύρους λέγουσι. Reinesius corrected this by reading τράγους instead of ἀργούς.

Page 565. "Omero llama sordas las ondas, i assi dize κῦμα κωφὸν, sorda onda, a cuya imitacion dixo Oracio enla cancion 7 del lib. 3.

porque mas sordo que las peñas d'Icaro oye las vozes.

Nota. The references are to Homer, Iliad XIV. 16; and to Horace, Od. III. 7, 21.

Homer compares the hesitation of Nestor to a great, still wave, which seems to stand still until the wind drives it on.

The point of Horace's comparison is that Gyges is as deaf to the love-making of Chloe as the rocks of the island Icarus. What shall we say of the rudimentary knowledge, to say nothing of the literary taste and discrimination, of the man

who tells us that Horace was imitating Homer here? What opinion shall we form of the Greek acquirements of Herrera, when he tells us that κῦμα κωφόν means 'sorda onda'? It is as bad, although not so amusing, as the famous schoolboy translation of Vergil's words, "triste lupus stabulis," the sad wolf came to the sheepfold.

Page 589. "Hadas: estas son las Parcas. . . . Esiodo dixo que eran hijas dela noche i Erebo."

Nota. Hesiod (Theog. 211) mentions Nyx as bringing them forth. Erebos is not mentioned. In Theog. 901-4, Zeus and Themis are the parents of the Moerae or Parcae.

Of course, the reason for the two contradictory statements in the Theogony is that it is the work of different authors.

Page 598. "Euridomene [se trae] de δομέω, que es *edifico,* compongo i ordéno."

Nota. There is no Greek verb δομέω. And what shall we say to Herrera's accenting the Latin verb aedifĭco as he does?

A little further down the page, he tells us that "Eufrosíne se deduze de εὐφρένω que es lo mesmo que alégro."

Nota. There is no Greek verb εὐφρένω.

Note, too, that Herrera always accents Euphrosy̆ne as if it were Euphrosȳne. On the other hand Pherecȳdes he always accents Ferécides (pp. 305, 411, 662).

It may be stated here that the book is full of wrong accents. It would be hard to tell how far they are due to the compositor. Such a blunder as inverting the λ in μεσόμφαλον (p. 188) is undoubtedly the compositor's fault, But many are doubtful. For instance, we have ἀηρ (p. 113); λἀρναξ (p. 188); Dióscuros (p. 273); Cratílo (p. 300); Melpoméne, Eráto, Polinía, Uranía (p. 300); κρυὸς (p. 308); διὸς [for δῖος] (p. 569); Pasitéa (p. 598); δυνἀμις (p. 654); Climéne (pp. 654, 670); Ermesiánas, i. e. Hermesiănax (p. 661); Gorgías (p. 160).

Page 599. "Intonso: epíteto de Apolo, quiere dezir no cortado el cabello. Omero lo llamò ακερκεκόμης [sic] que es intonso en sermon Latino, porque nunca los rayos (dize Macrobio) se pueden arrancar dela frente del Sol; i por esso lo fingen con cabellos: i assi lo nombran ακερκεκόμης"

Nota. Everything but the blunder in the form of the word is from Macrobius, *Saturn.* I. 17, 47. A blunder like this twice within three lines in a revised edition is pretty bad.

Page 627. "Linfas; lo mesmo es linfa en Griego, que agua en nuestra lingua."

Nota. There is no such word in Greek. The word belongs to Italy.

Page 661. "Amonio dize que fue hijo [i. e. that Orpheus was son] de Apolo."

Nota. Ammonius, a literary man of Alexandria in the third century B. C., wrote commentaries on Pindar, of which only fragments have come down to us by being quoted in later Greek scholia. Now in the scholion on Pindar, Pyth. IV. 176, Ammonius is quoted as explaining very carefully that Pindar, when he calls Orpheus a phorminx-player from Apollo (ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος δὲ φορμικτάς), does not mean that he is born from Apollo, but that he has the gift of music from the god of music.

Page 669. "Como siente Platon se llamò Apolo de πάλλειν que es arrojar."

Nota. In the *Cratylus* p. 405 C., Socrates playfully derives Apollo from διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ βολῶν ἐγκρατὴς εἶναι.

Page 672. "Las rosas: se llama ῥόδος en Griego."

Nota. The word is always neuter, ῥόδον.

Page 683. "Eródoto i Opiano en el 2. dizen que los [i. e. stags] cria Africa."

Nota. Herodotus, IV. 192, says exactly the other thing (πλὴν ἐλάφου).

SEC. IV. In entering into a consideration of Herrera's familiarity with Greek literature, whether he read it in Greek, or in Latin (as I believe he did), we must have in mind, and remember through all our investigations, that the literature of Rome is modeled after Greek types, so that not only the usual myths and traditions and allusions of Grecian literature reappear in Latin dress, but also many of the great passages of the Greek poets are reproduced with more or less felicity by the Latin. Therefore it is sometimes difficult to decide whether the model is Latin or Greek, when a later poet imitates classical models. Let us take the following lines from lib. 2. eleg. 4 of Herrera's poems, to illustrate just what is meant:

" Etna, que el duro ielo i frio siente
En sus coronas altas ensalzado,
Y con el blanco velo reluciente,
Cuando del impio Encelado abrasado,
Es con serpientes asperas herido,
Y se revuelve de uno y otro lado;
El fuego en nube espesa reducido
De ardientes globos y furor humoso,
Arroja con horrisono estampido.
El estruendo de peñas tempestoso
Con alto horror resuena en torno y brama,
Y tiembla todo el monte cavernoso."

We read this, and at first it seems as if we must turn to Pindar (Pyth. I.) for the first part. The passage is Vergilian (I beg Vergil's pardon! I mean an imitation of the *Aeneid* III. 571-582) all but the first three lines. But there is nothing about snow or frost in Vergil's picture.

Is the opening of the passage Pindaric?

" Duro hielo y frio en sus coronas altas " and " il blanco velo reluciente " seems rather poor to have come from

" Νιφόεσσ' Αἶτνα, πάνεες
χιόνος ὀξείας τιθήνα."

Does it? Let us look at some lines from Claudian's *Raptus Proserpinae*, lib. I, ver. 164:

" Sed, quamvis nimio fervens exuberet aestu,
Scit nivibus servare fidem, pariterque favillis
Durescit glacies, tanti secura vaporis,
Arcano defensa gelu; fumoque fideli
Lambit contiguas innoxia flamma pruinas."

Here, drawn out through five lines, we have Herrera's favorite antithesis of fire and water; in this case, congealed water.

I think that Claudian gives Herrera the idea for his first three lines.

Of course, the atrocious comparison with which Herrera continues is the offspring of his own corrupted taste. No classic author of old times was ever guilty of this sort of thing:

" Mi pecho, que de fuera es nieve, y llama
Dentro, cuando el amor lo mueve y hiere,
Gime, y sonando el bravo ardor derrama."

Not only must we keep this infiltration of Greek poetry into Latin in mind, but also the enormous amount of Greek words, lines, and thoughts which was imbedded in the notes of commentators on the different Latin classics.

Take as an illustrious example, and therefore having many commentators and many notes, the poems of Vergil: beginning with the Roman edition of 1469, the editio princeps, we have editions coming from the presses at Venice, Milan, Rome, Florence, Brescia, Parma, Modena, even from little Fivezano in Tuscany. After 1500 the flood increases. The cities north of the Alps are printing the poet

with the commentaries of Servius and Donatus;—London, Paris, Cologne, Basel, Strasburg, and many other places. And every day the list of commentators was growing longer.

Space will allow me to mention only two books which may well have served to furnish Herrera with much of his Greek learning, such as it is. The first is printed at Hagenau in 1529: "In Bucolica et Georgica Adnotationes, ac loci omnes maxime Theocriti, tum etiam Hesiodi quidem, quibus usus est Virgilius, Latine redditi per Eobanum Hessum." The second is a folio edition of Vergil printed at Basel in 1561: "Bucolica, Georgica et Aeneis, cum veris Donati et Servii et Probi commentariis, a Georg. Fabricio emendatis: notis etiam recent. Pompon. Sabini, Phil. Beroaldi, Is. Hartungi, Iodoc. Willichii, Georg. Fabricii, Bonfinis, Vivis, Coelii Rhodigini, Barlandi, Scopae, Const. Campani, Crucii et aliorum." We see here clearly that the age of the multifarious 'Variorum' editions is in full swing. I have mentioned Vergil as the prince of poets: but this same sort of thing, in a smaller measure, was being done for all the Latin writers.

After this rather long preface, I wish to make some inquiry into Herrera's acquaintance with the great writers of Greece, following in the main the chronological order, and beginning with Homer.

I shall take Herrera's poetry first, and the rest of the paper will deal with his notes on Garcilasso.

After a careful reading of Herrera's poems, I can mention only one passage where his allusion seems to be taken from an immediate Greek source. In the 1st cancion of the 1st book, he writes:

> "Ven a mi humilde ruego,
> Ven a mi humilde ruego, oh, amor de aquella
> Que Juno te ofrescio, tu ninfa bella!"

The cancion is addressed "Al Sueño," and the lines evi-

dently refer to the *Iliad* XIV. 267; where Juno offers to give one of the Charites, Pasithea, to Hypnos in marriage. Even this, though, I do not think Herrera drew directly from the Iliad, but from Pausanias IX. 35. My reasons for thinking so, I shall give when I discuss Pausanias.

Now let us turn to the Notes on Garcilasso. In them the name Homer occurs 22 times (pp. 82, *88*, 135, 154, *155 bis*, *160*, *256*, 334, *359*, *366*, *367 bis*, *406*, 548, 565, *598*, *599*, 654, 681, *682*, *689*). Twelve of these references (in italic type) are quoted in passages from some other author, as for example on p. 88 where Herrera quotes Strabo, in whom occurs the reference to Homer. The other references are trivial, and no more imply an acquaintance with Homer than the use of the word Shylock implies that the user has read 'The Merchant of Venice,' or is familiar with Shakespeare's plays. In fact, so far as we can draw conclusions, they seem to point the other way. For instance, on page 135, Herrera says: "Omero da questo epiteto [i. e. Phaethon] al Sol, ἥλιος φαέθων." Now I cannot imagine a reader of Homer putting down a form which will not scan, and which is never found in the Iliad or the Odyssey. The phrase is always ἠέλιος φαέθων. Even ἥλιος alone is found only in the Odyssey 8, 271, and is so noticeable that the Scholiast (in loco) comments on it as a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, and adds ἠέλιος γὰρ ἀεί φησιν Ἰακῶς.

Let us take another instance. On p. 155 Herrera writes: "Omero dize que Vulcano decendio cayendo del aire. . . . Arrojólo Iupiter, como sienten Omero i Valerio Flaco, porque (segun es autor Apolodoro, en el lib. 1. [i. e. Biblioth. I. 3, 5]) quiso socorrer a Iuno que estava en cadenas," etc. . . . "i cayò en Lenos. i de alli quedò coxo, i Tetis lo salvò de peligro." Anyone who will compare *Iliad.* 18, 395 seq. and 1, 590 with Herrera's account, will see that they don't agree at all. According to Homer, Vulcan is born lame

and deformed. His mother, Juno, is ashamed of him, and drops him from Olympus into the sea. Thetis catches him in her lap and saves him. She takes him down into the caves of Oceanus, and there educates him. After nine years Vulcan returns to Olympus. Later, when he tries to help Juno, Jupiter throws him down, and this time he falls upon the island of Lemnos.

According to Herrera, Vulcan, after he is grown, tries to help Juno, and is thrown by Jupiter down upon Lemnos. The fall lames him, but Thetis saves him from peril. Now, in the Homeric account all is consistent: Thetis saves a mere baby from real peril of starvation. But in Herrera's story the thing is absurd. From what peril does Thetis save him? Herrera's whole account is taken, not from Homer at all, but from Apollodorus. Herrera likes to jingle names of authors in the ears of the reader.

On page 256 Herrera gives allegorical explanations of the story of Mars and Venus (Odys. 8, 266), and says: "Finge Omero que bolvieron en concordia despues del' antigua enemistad." It is a pity that Herrera has not told us where Homer has fabled all this. As a matter of fact Homer hasn't done anything of the kind.

I have already mentioned (in sect. III) Herrera's absurd blunder of translating or rather mis-translating, κῦμα κωφόν by "sorda onda" (p. 565).

On the whole, Herrera seems to show an astonishingly small amount of knowledge concerning the great fountain-head of classical literature.

Turning now to Hesiod, let me say at the outset that we shall have only the Theogony to deal with. Herrera shows not the slightest trace of any knowledge of 'The Works and Days' or of 'The Shield of Heracles.' Moreover, every one of Herrera's references to the Theogony is genealogical and statistical. There is not a single reference with

any literary flavor to it. Herrera wishes to get facts (if I may so speak of mythical genealogies) and facts only. There is not a trace or indication of acquaintance with the poetry of Hesiod. Take, as examples of what I mean, the description of the Muses in the opening of the poem (ver. 1-115), with the noble lines which Macaulay so admired on the healing power of the song of the aoedos; or the description of the birth of Aphrodite and her triumphal wafting towards the shores of Cyprus (a real Botticellian picture), ver. 191-206. On page 300 Herrera has written a whole page of dull and trivial genealogy and etymology about the Muses. On page 328 he has performed the same unkind office for laughter-loving Aphrodite. How a little of Hesiod's poetry would have lightened these heavy pages!

Herrera refers to Hesiod by name 17 times (pp. *102*, *154*, 160, 273, 310, *359*, 433, *442*, 554, *580*, *589*, *598* bis, 620, 654 bis, 681). Eight of these references (in italic type) are borrowed from other authors. Herrera manages in these 17 references, to make four mistakes. On page 102 he tells us that Amor was born from Chaos and Terra. Hesiod (*Theog.* 120) says that Eros (Amor) was born after Chaos and Gaea (Terra).

The truth is that Herrera took his information, not from Hesiod, but from the old Hypothesis or Preface to Theocritus' 13th Idyl (a passage of which he made a great deal of use in his long note on Amor); "Hesiodus Chaus et terrae filium esse affirmat." I take this from the edition of Helius Eobanus Hessus, Frankfurt, 1545.

In page 154 Herrera informs us that Hesiod in the Theogony is of the opinion that Juno without sexual intercourse gave birth to Vulcan.

Hesiod says exactly the opposite (*Theog.* 927).

Probably Herrera was dealing out information derived from Apollodorus I. 3, 5, or some other secondary source.

On page 273 Herrera gives us variety by blundering just the other way. He tells us that according to Hesiod Nemesis is the daughter of Nyx and Oceanus. Hesiod (*Theog.* 213-223) says that Nyx alone (οὐ τινι κοιμηθεῖσα) gave birth to Nemesis.

On page 589, Herrera quotes Hesiod as making the Moerae (" las hadas ") the children of Nyx and Erebos. I imagine Herrera gets this from Cicero, *De Natur. Deor.* III. 17.

Hesiod has two contradictory statements. In Theog. 217 he says that the Moerae spring from Nyx alone. In Theog. 901-5 he says that they are the children of Zeus and Themis. Of course this is explained by the fact that the Theogony is the work of different poets. But neither statement, as we see, agrees with Herrera. Now, is it supposable that, if Herrera really had read the Theogony, he could have made so many wrong statements? What makes the matter the more suspicious is that his abundant quotations from and allusions to the Latin authors are on the whole very accurate.

Turning from Hesiod, let us pass in review Herrera's accounts of the origin and blossoming of Greek lyric, elegiac, and bucolic poetry. He devotes three notes to these subjects: " Lirica " on pag. 219 seq; " Elegia " on p. 290 seq.; and " Las Eglogas " on pag. 405 seq.

Each one of these articles is exceedingly poor and empty. Herrera " darkeneth counsel by words without knowledge."

He enters upon the subject of lyric poetry with a flourish. The flourish, however is not his own, but a word-for-word plagiarism from Scaliger's *Poet.* I. 44, as I have shown in sect. II (p. 220).

If Herrera had been content to leave out vain show and pedantry, and to give us his own opinion, his notes would have been vastly more interesting and instructive. Take

these words, which express Herrera's own opinion as to the requirements for writing lyric poetry: "Requiere este verso ingenio vivo i espiritoso, voluntad cuidadosa i trabajadora, juizio despierto i agudo, las voces i oracion polida, limpia, castigada, eficaz i numerosa, i particularmente la jocundidad; como los elegos la lacivia, i los Epigramas los juegos." Here one has at least what a lyric poet thinks necessary for his craft. I may say here that grammar and rhetoric are the subjects to which Herrera gave much of his time and attention. He is the Spanish Malherbe with a good bit of the Ronsard yearning for a classical syncretism of Latin turns of expression with the vigorous native Spanish. He is indignant at the poetic taste of his day which follows slavishly in the steps of Petrarch and the Tuscans. He puts forth his own idea as follows: "no pusiera el cuidado en ser imitador suyo, si no endereçara el camino en seguimiento de los mejores antiguos, i juntando en una mescla a estos con los Italianos, hiziera mi lengua copiosa i rica de aquellos admirables despojas, i osára pensar, que con diligencia i cuidado pudiera arribar a donde nunca llegaran los que no llevan este passo" (p. 71). Such bits are scattered here and there among the notes. I wonder that no Spaniard has, in the intervening 300 years, gathered these genuine bits of the Spanish 'Ars Poetica.'

But to return to Herrera's note on "Lirica." After the preliminary flourish blown through Scaliger's trumpet, he continues as follows: "Dizen que fue su primer autor Alman natural de Sardis, ciudad de Lidia; porque como trae Ateneo en el lib. 13 i Pomponio Gaurico en las vidas de los poetas Griegos, fue el primero que aplicò a la lira los modos amorosos; i dio principio para que no se cantasse mas en esámetros, i floreciendo en tiempo de Ardis rei de Lidia, padre de Aliates, escrivio en lengua Dorica, que la usavan los Lacedemonios." In Suidas Lexicon, s. voce

Alcman, we read: Alcman, Laco ab Messoa, secundum Cratetem vero (qui quidem fallitur) Lydus, Sardibus oriundus. Lyricus, filius Damantis vel Titari. Vixit Olymp. XXVII. Ardye, Alyattis patre, in Lydia regnante; qui cum amoribus valde esset deditus, amatoriorum carminum inventor extitit. . . . Primus instituit ut melica non amplius versibus hexametris componerentur. Usus est dialecto Dorica, ut homo Lacedemonius." Herrera continues: " Fue amador de Megalóstrata, la cual podia atraer a si con los entretenimientos i regalos de la conversacion a los que l'amavan, i tambien con la dulçura de sus versos." I imagine Herrera gets all this from Pomponius Gauricus, who in turn drew from Athenaeus, *Deip.* XIII. 75, p. 600 ad fin.

Herrera continues: " Otros quieren que Ametor Eleuterneo fuesse el primero que cantasse estas canciones amorosas " ("Alii dicunt Ametorem Eleuthereum primum apud suos cives amatorias cecinisse cantilenas." Scalig. *Poet.* I. 44). fueron ecelentes entre los Griegos en este genero el ya memorado Alman, i el elegante i jocundissimo Anacreon, que concurrio en los tiempos de Ciro i Policrates, i siendo natural de Teo, cuidad de Ionia, escrivio sus intentos enel languaje Iònico, pero es sua poesia toda amatoria; que como dize Pausanias en l'Atica fue el primero despues de Safo, que gastò gran parte de sus versos en declarar sus amores ("Anacreon Teius, qui primus post Lesbiam Sappho magnam carminum suorum partem in exprimendis amoribus consumsit." Pausan. I. 25, 1), porque nacio solo para juegos i cantos i dançcas i besos i convites; todo entregado en deleites sensuales i de gula ("Anacreon, Teius, lyricus. . . . Scripsit Elegias et Iambos omnino usus Ionica dialecto. Vixit Tempore Polycratis, qui Sami tyrannus fuit, Olympiade LXII; alii vero Cyri et Cambysae temporibus eum vixisse ponunt, Olym. LII. . . . Per totam vitam puerorum et feminarum amoribus odisque pangendis studuit." Suidas, s. v. *Anacreon*).

Herrera goes on to speak of Alcaeus, Stesichorus, Simonides, and Pindar.

It is very trifling, and such as it is, follows slavishly a few remarks in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *De Veter. Script. Censura* and in Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* lib. X. cap. 1 medio.

There is not a sign that Herrera had any acquaintance whatsoever with any one of them. Yet Henr. Stephanus had published at Paris in 1560, and again in 1566, Pindar with Alcaeus, Sappho, Stesichorus, Ibycus, Anacreon, Bacchylides, Simonides, and Alcman. Herrera could not fail to know how often and how closely Horace imitates Alcaeus, and Catullus Sappho. One cannot help feeling that when Herrera talks about "en seguimiento de los mejores antiguos" (p. 71), he means after all only the Latin poets. The last place in the note is specially reserved for Sappho: "De industria reservè para esta ultima parte a Safo Lesbia de la ciudad de Eresso; que compuso 9 libros de versos liricos i elegias i epigramas. hembra de grande espiritu i admirable en declarar las passiones i secretos sentimientos de amor. . . . vivio en tiempo de Aliates padre de Cresso [sic]. i resplandecio con maravillosa suavidad i terneza de versos, en los cuales alaba Dionisio Alicarnasseo [De Compos. Verb. 23] la elegancia i gracia i donaire por su lenidad i blandura; la cual se causa de nunca o pocas vezes colidir o juntar entre si las vocales. pero son lacivos, i de pensamientos mui sugetos a la sensualidad, i assi en los que trae Efestion se quexa, que duerme sola, diziendo casi desta manera;

> Ya la luna hermosa,
> las Pléyades avian ya caido,
> la noche y' à seguido
> el medio curso, i huye pressurosa
> la ora que declina,
> i duermo sola yo, aime mesquina."

This is intended to be a version of frag. 50 (edit. Bergk-Hiller):

Δέδυκε μὲν ἀ σελάννα
Καὶ Πληίαδες, μέσαι δὲ
νύκτες, παρὰ δ' ἔρχετ' ὥρα,
ἔγω δὲ μόνα κατεύδω.

I cannot say how bad the translation was which Herrera had before him. The version follows the original very closely, except for two commonplace prettinesses and one egregious blunder which destroys the effect of the whole passage. It does not seem possible that any man of taste, let alone a poet, picturing to himself Sappho consumed with love's fever, looking out upon the night and noting the setting moon and stars, could ever be guilty of the outrageous blunder of translating δέδυκε by *avian* caido. Imagine an impatient woman, all on fire, looking and longing, and murmuring to herself: 'The moon and the Pleiades had set. Time is flying,—and I sleep alone.' I will not dwell on the weak "luna hermosa" and the "aime mesquina." They mark the difference between the fiery power of Sappho and the tinkling verbosity of Herrera.

It is interesting to turn from his schoolboy account of Greek lyric poetry to the Latin side. Herrera speaks and criticizes with relish when talking about poets whom he had read and knew. He begins with a sentence which would have made Horace smile. "Oracio, . . . el mas elaborado de todos los poetas Griegos i Latinos."

It does seem as though even Herrera might have recalled Horace's

"Pindarum quisquis studet aemulari."

The notes on elegiac and bucolic poetry are if possible more empty than the one which I have just reviewed. They are made up, so far as any information is concerned, from Suidas, Scaliger, Servius' Introduction to Vergil's Bucolics,

and the long story of Daphnis, the Sicilian shepherd from Diodorus of Sicily IV. 84.

What are the traces of Pindar in Herrera's notes? He names him just four times (pp. 91, 154, 221, 683), and these references are all trifling. One, in fact, is not a reference to Pindar but to Quintilian X. 1. Here are the three: p. 91, Pindar calls hope the dreams of a waking man; p. 154, Pindar in the Olympics calls Jupiter ἀργυκεράννος [sic]; p. 683, we mustn't blame Pindar for giving horns to a doe in the 3rd Olympian ode. I think that Herrera got the first from someone's note on Aelian *Var. Hist.* 13, 29: the second from someone's note on Proclus in Platon. *Timaeum* V. 49; or a note on Aristot. *de Mund.* ad fin. or from some other quarter, for the Orphic verse

"Ζεὺς πρῶτος γένετο, Ζεὺς ὕστατος ἀρχικέραννος"

was very famous. The third came from Aelian *Hist. Animal.* VII. 39.

The name of Aeschylus is mentioned three times (pp. 305, 564, 580). The first is from Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* XXXVII. 11: the second is only a use of the name to mark time: the third is from Pausan. I. 28, p. 68.

Sophocles is mentioned twice (pp. 312, 367). The first is a reference to the Scholiast on Sophocles [Trach. 12 ed. Brunck]. Herrera misquotes the scholium. I don't think that he ever saw the original. The other reference is that Sophocles says that Mars was born in Thrace. I believe that this again is drawn from somebody's note, for Sophocles does not say that Mars was born in Thrace, so far as I am aware. Sophocles (*Antig.* 970) does say that Ares is neighbor to Thracian Salmydessos, but that is not saying that Ares was born in Thrace.

Euripides was undoubtedly the most popular and the most read of the three great tragic poets in the time of the Renaissance. I am rather surprised to find that Herrera

refers to him and the Scholia on him, only eight times (pp. 188, 259, 273, 274, 370, 580, 606, 683). On page 188 Herrera gives a description of Parnassos, and says: "Fue ilustre este monte con dos cumbres, i assi lo llamò δικόρυφον Euripides." Euripides doesn't. In the *Phoenissae* 227, he speaks of a δικόρυφον σέλας, the twin gleam from the two crags in the Phaedriades; and again of the δικόρυφος πλάξ (*Bacch.* 307), the miles of high, broken ground, which slope from the two κορυφαί or peaks of Hyampeia and its twin up to the real peak of Parnassos, Lycoreia. From this unintelligent use of δικόρυφος it is evident that Herrera did not know the passages in Euripides, but merely some note in which blundering reference is made to the Phoenissae 227 and the Scholium.

The reference only on page 259 is really literary. Herrera quotes Horace's words "mors ultima linea rerum est" (Epist. I. 16, 79), and says that it is an imitation of Euripides, "que la llama ultima linea de los males." In Euripides' *Antigone* frag. 13, we read: ἐπ' ἄκραν ἥκομεν γραμμὴν κακῶν. Probably Herrera got this from a note on the Horatian passage. The notes on pp. 273, 274 tell us that 'Euripides in the *Orestes* plainly called Helen the daughter of Leda, and that the Scholiast on the *Orestes* writes that Leda, transformed into Nemesis, had unseemly intercourse and friendship with the swan.' The references are to *Orestes* 1388 and the scholium on *Orestes* 1387. Neither quotation shows that Herrera ever saw the play or the scholium, whether in Greek or Latin. The story of Leda and the swan, with its mysterious Rhamnusian version which put Nemesis in the place of Leda, is a literary commonplace. Helen is κούρη Διός in the Iliad, and Nemesis enters as early as the *Cypria* of Stasinus. Later, the Christian writers, like Lactantius and Clement of Alexandria, used these old myths to show the indecency of the

heathen religion. Herrera's reference on page 370 is to the Scholiast on *Orestes* 1287, and deals with the old story from Stesichorus that Helen was so beautiful that the Greeks who were going to stone her, let the stones fall.

Page 580 is a reference to Lyssa, Madness personified, whom Euripides introduces into the *Hercules Furens.*

Page 606 is merely a statement that 'Apollo for slaying the Cyclopes had to serve Admetus, as Euripides writes in the *Alcestis.*'

The reference on page 683 shows very clearly how Herrera gathers, not from the ones he quotes, but from some secondary source. He says we must not condemn Pindar in the 3rd Olympian ode, nor Callimachus in the hymn to Diana, nor Euripides in the Iphigenia, for giving horns to does.

Now this looks learned, but it is all from Aelian, *De Nat. Anim.* VII. 39.

Our present play of the Iphigenia at Aulis (Notice that Herrera quotes merely Iphigenia. He didn't know which one) has a doe in it at the end of the play, but no mention of horns. But this ending is believed to be spurious. The whole note is amusing as showing the calm way in which Herrera pretended to know what he did not know.

Herodotus is cited four times (pp. 238, 332, 608, 683). All of these citations are trifling, and two are mistakes. Herodotus (I. 7) does not say that Alcaeus was the grandfather of Heracles, but his son; also he does not say (IV. 192) that deer are found in Africa, but that they are not.

Thucydides is not mentioned. None of the orators is mentioned.

Xenophon is mentioned three times (pp. 105, 161, 623). Herrera may have read the *Memorabilia,* but if so he makes no use of his knowledge. The three references are to the *Memorab.* I. 3, 13: *Cyrop.* VIII. 7: *Oecon.* cap. 15. I

think that they are all cited at second hand. Of course Herrera had read a good deal of Aristotle. He quotes him either by name or else as "el filosofo" forty-three times (pp. 83 bis, 84 bis, 89, 100, 135 bis, 165, 169, 171, 200, 224, 251, 253, 259, 270 bis, 290, 334, 338, 374, 383, 420, 431, 542, 544, 553, 557, 558, 564, 566, 570, 574, 575, 581, 601, 608, 623, 662, 682, 683, 685). I think Herrera shows that he has studied Aristotle's Rhetoric, Poetics, and (in less degree) Ethics pretty carefully. He has a taste also for the investigations into the creation of the human body and into its different functions. But even here he shows no real thinking and sagacity, but merely repeats. Fortunately, he repeats generally in these matters the ideas of Aristotle, who was a thinker. It is a pity that Herrera did not keep to Aristotle wholly and only in matters of natural history, although in that case we should have lost some amusement. Take for example his story from Aelian (*De Nat. An.* III. 13) about the cranes. With what childish relish he tells that certain of the birds do sentinel duty at night while the others sleep, and stand on one foot, holding a stone raised in the other. If they slumber the stone clatters to the ground and the noise wakens the sleeper (p. 555). Or take the story of Hercules' dog biting a shell-fish on the Tyrian coast, and getting thereby a "purple-stained mouth": whereupon Hercules goes into the dyeing business, and presents his ladylove with a beautiful royal-purple gown (p. 658).

Let me give last one delicious bit of Herreran criticism. He is commenting on the word *Diamante*: "dicho assi dela voz Griega adamas, que quiere dezir virtud indomita. es falso que solo se enternece con sangre de cabron; porque se vên muchos hechos pedaços con el martillo" (p. 368). We could not have a better introduction into the mental attitude of Herrera and his contemporaries.

Herrera has markedly the anecdotic mind. He is a collector and retailer of isolated facts and fables. Mythological genealogics fill a large part of his notes.

Francisco de Rioja (Preface to Seville edit. of Herrera, 1619) says: "Supo Fernando de Herrera la Filosofia mui bien." Maybe: but certainly he gives no evidence of it, either directly or indirectly, in his poetry or in his notes. He keeps clear of the Aristotelian metaphysics and psychology.

His acquaintance with Plato seems neither wide nor deep. He has twenty-one references to Plato and the Platonists ('los Platonicos'), as follows (pp. 102 tris, 135, 148, 157, 169, 171, 198, 251, 253, 273, 300, 360, 376, 564, 581, 583, 590, 651, 669). Many of these are vague or trifling. For example I will take the three citations on p. 102: "Platon enel Simposio haze a Cupido hijo de Poro, hijo de Metis, que es el consejo, i de Penia, que es la pobreza i necessidad, que los Platonicos dizen que fue fingido con gran misterio." Then further on: "Platon i Fornuto [i. e. L. Annaeus Cornutus] dizen, que se apellida ἐρως de la inquisicion i busca que se haze de lo que se ama, porque ἐρειν vale por ζητειν, que es inquirir."

Who would know Plato's beautiful allegory (*Sympos.* p. 203) in the hands of Herrera? It has become a dull and unmeaning genealogy, quoted as literally as though it were John Smith, the son of Thomas Smith. Anyone who is not familiar with Plato would think from reading Herrera's note that this was merely another of the innumerable variations in Greek genealogy. The 'fue fingido con gran misterio' is one of those remarks which sound learned, yet convey no idea, "glittering generalities." Can Herrera tell us of anything which was not 'fingido con gran misterio' by the Neo-Platonists?

The last quotation (?) must have come through trusting

someone who knew as little of Plato as Herrera himself. In the *Cratylus*, p. 398 D., Socrates jestingly connects ἥρως and ἔρως and εἰρειν by an amusing use of what he terms "the ancient speech of Attica," and evolves the delightful proposition that the Sophists and Rhetors are the true heroic tribe. The only dialogues to which Herrera refers as though he were acquainted with them, are the *Symposium*, the *Timaeus*, and the *Cratylus*. If I were asked what Greek authors Herrera did read, I should be inclined to say Aristotle and Plato, as indicated above; Plutarch's *Symposium* and some other pieces in the *Moralia*; possibly some of Lucian's dialogues; Diodorus of Sicily somewhat; Aelian, both the *Varia Historia* and the *De Natura Animalium*; Palaephatus' *Incredibilia*; Apollodorus; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the rhetorical works; Hesiod's *Theogony*; Strabo; Antigonus of Carystus; and Clement of Alexandria. Herrera had some acquaintance with Theocritus, but it was very slight. Last of all, I would mention what seems to have been a favorite book with Herrera, Pausanias' Description of Greece. I believe there is little doubt but that Herrera read his Greek in Latin translations.

Herrera is and remains a Latinist.

"Los antiguos" are for him the Latin writers. Vergil is in his estimation "Degli altri poeti onore e lume." And yet Herrera's own style is curiously un-Vergilian, for one who studied the Mantuan so faithfully, and admired him so surpassingly. Herrera's real style is of the late silver age, and has far more kinship with Claudian and Ausonius than with Vergil.

No true Vergilian could ever have quoted (as Herrera does on p. 377) with approbation the following lines from Sanazzaro:

" Aspice, quam variis distringor Vesbia curis;
Uror et heu nostro manat ab igne liquor.
Sum Nilus, sumque Aetna simul. Restringite flammam,
O lacrimae! Lacrimas ebibe flamma meas!"

Worse yet, Herrera imitates this wretched conceit, and succeeds in producing something quite as bad as Sanazzaro's stuff:

" Cese tu fuego, Amor, cese ya, en tanto
Que respirando de su ardor injusto,
Pruebo á sentir este pequeño gusto
De ver mi rostro humedecido en llanto;
Que nunca el alto Etna con espanto
Los grandes miembros y el rebelde busto
Del impio que cayó con rayo justo
Puede encender, ni nunca encendió tanto.
No amortiguan mis lagrimas tu fuego,
Antes avivan su furor creciendo,
Aunque venzan del Nilo la corriente.
Si suelto en agua rompo el nudo luego,
Qué mas te agrada desatallo ardiendo?
Es menos mal lo que es mas diferente?"

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